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The Christian Socialist

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SOCIALISM AS A WORLD POWER

TO prevent the possible war between France and Germany which the German Emperor has lately seemed anxious to provoke, the German Socialists arranged a great peace demonstration at Berlin for July 9 and engaged M. Jaures, the noted French statesman to address the throng. The German government, fearing the pacific effect upon his designs against France of such an international peace demonstration at this time, forbade Jaures to come. The German Chancellor's message to the French ambassador is as follows:

"The press has announced that Herr Jaures will appear before the Socialistic meeting here July 9. Against the personality of M. Jaures I have nothing to say. I respect his views on foreign policy and not infrequently agree with them. I am glad that on several occasions he has promoted friendly relations between Germany and France. The personal value of M. Jaures is not considered, but the political role placed upon him.

"The German Socialists would use the presence of Herr Jaures in Berlin to cover by his person their hostile endeavors against the state and national interests. The imperial government cannot refrain from using the means at its disposal to prevent the party from seeking to destroy the existing and constitutionally established order."

Commenting upon this remarkable episode the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of July 8 editorally says:

"SOCIALISM AS A WORLD POWER."

"There are six great powers in the world," said Bonaparte, "France, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria and the London Times." William II. places Socialism on the roll of the world's great powers. He does this by the way in which the German government deals with Socialism's French leader. In prohibiting Jaures' announced address before the Socialists of Berlin today Prince von Buelow, the German chancellor, communicates with Jaures personally in Paris instead of reaching him through the French government. He thus raises the Socialism for which Jaures stands to the dignity of a great nation. The Socialists of France and Germany are naturally delighted at this action. It will give them an immeasurably better advertisement that they could get by a score of Jaures' addresses in Berlin and Herr Bebel's speeches in Paris. Unintentionally, but none the less emphatically, the kaiser is playing into the hands of his German enemies, for it is the Socialists at home, who invited Jaures to address them, and not those in France, that he aims at.

William II. can give excellent reasons for the fear that is in him. Of the 9,000,000 votes cast in the German empire two years ago for members of the reichstag, or popular branch of parliament, 3,000,000 were cast by the Socialists. From less than 100,000 votes a third of a century ago Socialism in Germany has expanded to this vast total. *It is not only the largest element of the voters of the empire*, but it numbers almost as many voters as the two next largest ingredients of the electorate, the Catholic Center and the National Liberals. *It is growing faster than either of these parties.* Some recent developments in the empire render it certain that the Socialists will cast 3,500,000 votes in the election for the reichstag in 1908. William II.'s flag of distress in the prohibition of the address by Jaures will add greatly to the Socialists' prestige, not only in Germany but in France and throughout the world. The Socialists everywhere, including Debs' party in the United States, will feel a new pride in their party at this recognition of Socialism's power by the German emperor, although that party in the United States, lacking any intelligent reason for existence, has no future which can alarm sane persons.

There is a significance in the kaiser's interdict on the French Socialist chief's address in Berlin which gives it a world interest. *Socialism is growing rapidly in all the great and some of the smaller nations. In every one of them except* in the United States, and possibly in France, it has a real reason for existence, and *therefore it has the future on its side.* Everywhere it aims at the establishment of a republic, for even in France and the United States its triumph would bring republicanism of a widely different order from the present regime.

Throughout Europe it works for the solidarity of the nations. It ignores state lines, would abolish big armies and navies, drop colonialism *and would bring in an era of universal peace.* The French and German Socialists reject and condemn the rivalries and mutual jealousies of their home governments, and want to establish a brotherhood which would care nothing for national, race and language divisions. They would settle the Morocco dispute by saying that neither France nor Germany has any business in Morocco, and would let the Moroccoans run their own affairs. They would sweep away kaisers, kings, czars and sultans, and let the people everywhere rule or misrule themselves, without any dictation from despots or bureaucrats from the inside or potentates from the outside. *William II. knows why he heads off Jaures in his march on Berlin.* In doing this, however, he has given Socialism an advertisement which will make to-day's demonstration in the German capital memorable for its dimensions and its significance whether Jaures appears there or not.

ROCKEFELLER AND OTHER MONOPOLISTS

THOMAS W. LAWSON said a week ago that Philadelphians are mistaken in supposing they are fighting the crooks who have made themselves masters of the government. The crooks are only the tools of a higher power which controls the directors of the U. G. I. as well as the political heelers. Americans, he declares, must fight the "System" everywhere—just as he is fighting it. He then makes this remarkable statement:

"When God made John D. Rockefeller, He made a mistake."

It is this very striking remark that shows the difference between Mr. Lawson's view of the situation and that of the Socialists.

Now, Socialists are not credited, as a rule, with an over-supply of reverence, and yet, I am sure no Socialist could be found willing to admit that the creation of John D. Jockefeller was a mistake. Nor do they consider the creation of other grasping capitalists a mistake. To so describe them, seems to Socialists both short-sighted and unscientific.

THEIR DAY IS DONE

In the eyes of the Socialists, these men—far from being mistakes—have had an all-important mission to perform. They have played their part thoroughly and well; they have brought the drama to the necessary climax—and it is now time for them to leave the stage.

They are superfluous—that's all. We can get on better without them than with them. They have run their course, and their day is done.

Now, the truth about Rockefeller and the terrible "System"—as Lawson calls it—is this:

That Rockefeller represents merely the successful achievement of what other men—other business men—have aimed at and vainly struggled for.

COMPETITION LEADS TO COMBINATION

John D. Rockefeller and other of his kind have served humanity by performing an enormous task in the field of industrial evolution. They have moved forward the wheels of evolution faster than such wheels have ever moved before.

They have proved two things to be true: First, that competition inevitably leads to combination. Secondly, they have proved that industries can be managed better when combined in one great system than when operated separately.

But from these two deductions there is a third of far greater importance.

These men—these great capitalists—by their extraordinary and overmastering success have reduced themselves to an absurdity.

They have proved to the people how absurd is the fact of their owning the resources of the country and operating its industries for their own personal benefits. They have shown the people how ridiculous and illogical has been the old-fashioned policy of treating politics as a thing separate and apart from the industrial life of the people.

These masters of finance and captains of industry have never separated their politics from their material interests. They have always combined them and made the government their willing tool.

POWERS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

They now hold in their hands powers and resources that rightfully belong to the people—that must belong to the people sooner or later. They have shown how these powers and resources can best be utilized, how one management can do the work of three or four; how far production can be socialized and its cost reduced by the use of machinery.

All this they have done from purely selfish, personal motives. But the lesson to the people remains the same. It is the lesson of social production. It points the way to social distribution. The people of this country are now operating the industries from which the capitalists draw their millions. The capitalists no longer operate them. They merely profit by the social production of the people.

Is it not, therefore, becoming every day more and more clear that the existence of these capitalists is superfluous—that if the people can run the industries they can also draw the profits?

Is it not true that social production will be followed by social distribution?—Caroline Pemberton in Philadelphia North American.

HARVEST

IN Siberia's wilds we sowed, we sowed;
We planted the seed with the goad, the goad;
With the rasping knout the season through
We harrowed it well and it grew—it grew!

In stricken Finland, we sowed, we sowed;
The flower of Freedom we hewed and hoed;
We struck it down and nourished the weed
Till the soil is choked with the seed—the seed.

In ancient Poland we sowed, we sowed;
Every hope of the human heart we mowed;
With our brothers' bones we rotted the field
And out of them springs the yield—the yield.

Before the palace we sowed, we sowed;
Our fertile seed was the rifle's load;
In womanly flesh and flesh of child
We sowed and the seed runs wild—runs wild.

In crowded cities we sowed, we sowed;
We watered the seed with the blood which flowed;
With blood and tears we watered it well
And behold the harvest of hell—of hell.

Defeat and dishonor thorn the path,
Murder and mutiny, ruin and wrath;
O nations of Earth, the nettles ye sow
In the hearts of the people, they grow—they grow!

—EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Friendly Question and Answer

S. M. Jones of the Socialist Club of Springfield Replies to Queries of Church Investigators as to Spirit and Attitude of Socialists

THE following is a part of the reply sent by our comrade S. M. Jones of Springfield, Mass., in reply to certain questions addressed to him by the "Outlook Committee" of the Connecticut Valley Congregational Club. It seems to deserve a wider reading. Other portions of his letter, which we omit, stated in brief the economic and political position of the Socialist Party.

1. What tendency, if any, do you find toward Socialism in your community?

I observe quite a strong and growing tendency toward Socialist thought in this city. Each year I find a larger number of old-party members who are willing to lend an ear to Socialist argument. Some who would listen three years ago are now voting the ticket. Some who would not listen to reason three years ago are now looking into Socialism. And some who were violently against it three years ago now silently tolerate the propaganda. This tendency is more marked this year than it has been heretofore. The real inwardness of capitalism is beginning to work itself into the inner consciousness of the people. . . . .

2. What is the general spirit of the Socialists—altruistic or selfish?

I will make two statements and leave the work of classification to you:

A young man starts out in life, gets a job, and makes that the stepping stone to a better job. He is ambitious to elevate himself above the level of those among whom he was raised, and he has his eye fixed, away off in the future, upon a high social position which he means some day to occupy. His mind is so steadfastly fixed upon that goal that he fails to note the wrongs inflicted upon himself and his fellow workers by an iniquitous industrial system; and in order to achieve the goal he is himself striving for, he is often willing to assist his masters in riveting still tighter the chains which bind his fellow workers. He seeks the favor only of those who are able to raise him financially or socially. And when he attains the coveted goal, he is like the rest of the capitalist class—he has long ceased to have any sympathy with the working class. Was the spirit which actuated him altruistic or selfish?

A young man starts out in life, gets a job, and goes to work. He sees the published report of the company for which he works, in which dividend is declared, which may be 12 per cent., 20 per cent., 50 per cent., 80 per cent., or even more; and the next week he and his fellows are treated to a cut in wages of 5 per cent., 10 per cent., 12 per cent., or more. The next week he reads that the heaviest owner of the company's stock gives a large donation to a college, or to a church, or to place a library in some town. In other words, he sees his wages and those of his fellow workers "divided up" among a few stockholders; he sees the value which they produced—and every cent of which they need for their families—arbitrarily taken from them and given away. Their children are deprived of necessary schooling, in order to establish a college they cannot attend. This young man thinks this is wrong, and he talks among his fellow workers and organizes them—not PARTICULARLY to benefit himself, but to achieve justice for ALL the workers. Is the spirit which actuates this young man altruistic or selfish?

I will make these two statements in a little different way:

A slave may desire freedom. He may, in order to secure his own personal freedom, assist his master in binding his fellow slaves into still more degrading servitude. Is his spirit altruistic or selfish?

A slave may desire freedom. He organizes his fellow slaves, infuses into them a desire for freedom, leads them on, and so achieves freedom for the whole body of slaves. Is he actuated by the spirit of altruism or selfishness?

3. What attitude do they take toward the church?

Socialists have become conscious of the source of their troubles under this industrial system, and can readily detect their enemies. They are very sensitive to misrepresentation and know at once when they are misrepresented.

If any church, as a body or through its preacher, continually misrepresents the aims and motives of the Socialists, the Socialists know it at once. It is what the preachers, the college professors, and the newspapers say about Socialism that informs the Socialists whether to look upon the church, the college, and the newspaper as friends or as enemies. We read the sermon of Van Allen of Boston, and we regard him and his church (until the church dismisses him) as friends. We read a scathing denunciation of Socialists, with an unfair statement of our position, in a newspaper report of some sermon, and we have no trouble in classifying the preacher of that sermon; of course he is our enemy; and we consider his church our enemy so long as it approves his course. When we read of a young man in Cornell University winning the prize with a Socialist oration, we have a friendly feeling toward Cornell. But when some college begins to dismiss professors or students for advocating Socialism, we immediately classify it as an enemy. When a newspaper, religious or secular, lies about us we simply can't help knowing that it is our enemy.

In our club I touch shoulders on one side with an avowed agnostic, while upon the other side is a devout member of an evangelical church, across the room is a Jew; sitting beside him is a man well versed in the higher criticism. Many of my comrades in this city are regular attendants at church.

So I will venture this general statement: Socialism and Socialist sentiment are growing rapidly in this country and in the world; if the church does not wish the Socialists to antagonize it, it should be careful so to conduct itself that the Socialists will not be OBLIGED to classify it among their enemies. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. So when you find yourself on the side where the most mammon is—if you ever should—it might be well to pause and consider.—The Worker.

"THE MARSEILLES HYMN"

Ye sons of Freedom, wake to glory!
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

To arms! to arms; ye brave!
The avenging swords unsheathe!
March on! march on! all hearts resolved
On liberty or death.

See now the dangerous storm is rolling,
Which tyrant kings confederate raise;
The dogs of war, let loose, are howling
And lo! our fields and cities blaze;
And shall we basely view the ruin,
While lawless force with guilty stride,
Spreads desolation far and wide,
With crime and blood his hands embruing?

To arms! to arms! etc., etc.

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare,
Their thirst for power and gold unbounded,
To meet and vend the light and air;
Like beasts of burden would they load us,
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;
But man is man, and who is more?
Then, shall they longer lash and goad us?

To arms! to arms! etc., etc.

O, Liberty! can man resign thee.
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts, and bars confine thee!
Or whips thy holy spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewailing
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield,
But freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing.

To arms! to arms! etc., etc.

—Rouget De L'Ile.

Does The Saloon Improve Business?

BY S. L. HOOVER

IF the Christian people really wanted to be rid of the traffic in intoxicating drinks they could easily destroy it; but they do not want to do this and the reason assigned is that it would kill business. [And for this reason, under the competitive system, they can not even want to destroy the saloon—which illustrates the law of economic determinism.—Ed.]

The writer has been told again and again that if you want "to kill" a town just suppress the saloon and his attention has been called to a number of towns which have thus been "killed." If only saloon-keepers and worldly persons had thus spoken there would be little reason for an investigation of the statement, but when church members hold this view it is worth while to ascertain whether there is any truth in it.

Before the writer seriously and carefully investigated this subject he did not believe that the suppression of saloons "killed a town," and all the righteous indignation of his soul was stirred when any one made such a statement in his presence, especially when a member of a church did so, who was at once put down in my mind as a hypocrite.

Now if this statement is not true, Christians should quit saying it is; they should cease believing it is; and they should at once banish every saloon from every city, and not advocate a measure manifestly unfair, in that it enables the larger cities to have a monopoly of this trade (as they have of nearly all other trades) and thus work a hardship on the smaller towns whose trade in commodities is already limited.

If it is true, then Christians should probe to the bottom and find out *why* it is true and, for the advancement of the Kingdom of Heaven *remove the cause.* Those who say it is true confront you with concrete examples, and tell you here are the facts; here are the towns that have been "killed," and if you are honest you must give them a respectful hearing. This is what this brief article proposes to do. Their arguments which run somewhat as follows, are here given so the reader can form his own opinions:

There are today two chief incentives to activity in life. The one is a desire to make money, and the other is the necessity of satisfying appetites. It matters not whether these appetites are natural or acquired, as is the case with that for intoxicants. And men are of two classes: those who have business instincts and are industrious, and those who must be spurred to activity by the necessity of gratifying their appetites. The former are busy and active because of their cupidity; the latter must be made so by creating in them appetites for such things as they will have to work for, and by so doing they become cogs in the business machine and are very helpful to the former class, while they themselves have nothing to their credit but an insatiable appetite. With this appetite they are made willing slaves, industry hums, commodities are produced, business flourishes, and "the town is much alive." Of course it must be remembered that whenever these acquired appetites are indulged to the extent that stupor sets in, and the unfortunate one finds the gutter, then society suddenly becomes outraged and cries out against the evil.

If the reader will turn to World-Wide Missions for March, 1904, he will find these words: "Many wild schemes are proposed for industrializing Africa, making it a continent of industry, instead of idleness, as it has continued from the creation of the world. A remedy suggested by another man was to establish strong-drink saloons at the door of every mine and factory, and at the pay stations of every railway construction department; and instead of prohibiting the native from drinking, encourage him to spend all his money in drink. The thought was that the insatiable thirst created would spur them on to more work to earn money to get more drink. The question of destroying the African no more troubled this man than it does the saloon-keeper. New recruits could be found to take the place of those who fell victims to the curse; and, at any rate, there would be sufficient laborers found in this way to boom the country. This diabolical proposition was made in all seriousness to Bishop Hartzell as a panacea for all the difficulties of finding sufficient labor for mines, railways and other industries."

Here you have the ethics of commercialism of the present day, and let none delude themselves by saying this is Africa, for if the facts are laid bare it will be found that this is also America. Here it may not always be intoxicating drinks, for in this country the barest necessities of life serve the same purpose; and for this very reason a vast number of our brothers in Christ are kept on the verge of starvation and nakedness.

What is the remedy? Let the money incentive to activity be removed, because it is artificial anyway, being made an incentive only by custom, and because life is made to depend upon it. In its place put the natural incentives: the esteem of one's fellows, the desire for moral strength, for social grace, for pure and undefiled religion, for a strong and vigorous body which can only be secured by doing a just share of the world's work, a desire for knowledge, for invention, and for the pleasures which arise from research in any field. In place of the spur to activity of debased appetites put the guarantee of receiving the full product of labor, that is, sufficient and healthful food, comfortable and neat clothing, proper shelter, reasonable hours of labor, an occasional trip to new scenes, books, musical instruments, new and improved machinery for doing things and then the towns that are indeed in the valley of death and hell will be alive forever.

CHRISTIAN COMFORT

Christ's Talk With Moses and Elijah (Luke 9, 28-36)

BY W. B. GALLAHER

THIS memorable talk was about the coming death of Jesus at Jerusalem. (See Luke 9, 30-31). The sting and horror of that death as the mind of Jesus dwelt upon it, lay, no doubt, in the thought that he was to die as a criminal and and impostor, rejected and deserted by his own disciples, and that he was to fail utterly, apparently, in his mission of setting up the kingdom of God on earth. For he, no doubt, expected to set up that kingdom in his own person and while yet in the flesh, which his death would certainly and surely prevent.

Moses and Elijah had had, in their day, the after experiences of Christ, in dealing with a carnally-minded and unbelieving people whom they failed to turn from their idols.

Yet years after they had "died and gone to Glory," their lives and teachings became the highest models for all true Jewish worshippers of God, thus justifying the wisdom and power of their labors and teachings while in the flesh, though they had failed to accomplish their mission while they dwelt on earth.

These were indeed most fit and mighty comforters for Christ, in his coming failure to accomplish his mission in his own person and in the flesh, which his death would most surely prevent forever.

How eloquently these splendid comforters could show Jesus, from their own personal experiences, that the triumph (beyond their bodily state), of the true, noble and heroic dead who, in their lives, had been despised and rejected, is always vastly greater than any possible triumph of the mightiest and proudest of men in the flesh.

Nothing could be so well calculated, as were these personal experiences, to comfort and strengthen Jesus to undergo the shame, dishonor and failure in which the nature and circumstances of his coming death would involve him.

Thus we are taught that we, too, as Socialists, striving to set up the true kingdom of God on earth, may have our Mount of Transfiguration and all its comfort and glory; by means of prayer and communion with God and with the spirits of the dead heroes of human progress and freedom; even though we may fail to establish Socialism while we are yet in the flesh.

If we die before Socialism comes, we, by means of our past labors and teachings and, also, by means of our vastly increased personal power and energy in a state of glory, will be among the true authors and creators of the great Co-operative Commonwealth, which is Socialism practically realized, and the kingdom of God set up on earth.

Some Unusually Good Books

Besides the literature that has been referred to editorially and otherwise, in the Christian Socialist, at least four extra fine books have come to our desk that call for commendation:

(1) "A SOUL'S LOVE LETTER," by Mable, (published by the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass., price $1), is a fascinating story of a life from baby-hood to woman-hood. In it a genuine woman lays her soul bare, and the humor, pathos, and triumphant optimism which led her on to her Socialistic mission is remarkably interesting.

(2) "THE DWELLERS IN VALE SUNRISE," by J. Wm. Lloyd (also published by the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass., price $1), is one of the most [illegible] and thoughtful books of the year. In it the story is refreshingly told of how all sorts of free people live their unconventional, happy and simple lives. Each one lives up to the motto: "Live your own life in your own way," and the picture of a great community of such natural and free souls, into which is painted a charming love story, is entrancing. Besides, it is all being made real in the groups of comrades that are being organized in various parts of the country. It is good reading for Socialists, or any other thoughtful people.

(3) "THE VOICE OF EQUALITY," by our dear and inspiring comrade, Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, is a volume that ranks with Whitman and Carpenter in the virile power and true ringing democracy of its verse. It is only truth to say that no Socialist who claims to have both heart and head the equal of any man, can forego the pleasure of possessing this volume. Sent for $1 from the Christian Socialist office.

(4) "SONGS OF SOCIALISM," by H. P. Moyer, (published by the author at 2518 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.) Here at last is a real Socialist Song book that will give satisfaction and inspiration to Socialists and locals. Moyer has done the work of composing and compilation so well, that there is no reason now why American Socialism should not be carried forward with the inspiration of psalmody as it has been sung along by our European comrades, especially in Germany. Send to the author for a copy and enclose 50c to pay for it. It's a lot of joy for half a dollar. —G. E. L.

The comrade who introduced John Collins at the meeting in the park at Grand Junction, Colo., was arrested, whereupon Comrade Collins stepped six inches outside the park line and delivered a speech to a large and enthusiastic audience. The local comrades intend to fight out the question of free speech if it takes all summer.

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EDITORS:

EDWARD ELLIS CARR, - - - Danville, Illinois
OSCAR F. DONALDSON, - - - Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE, - - Boston, Massachusetts
PAUL H. CASTLE, - - - Central Park, Montana
J. STITT WILSON, - - - - Berkeley, California
EDWARD ADAMS CANTRELL, - - - Rock Rapids, Iowa
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REMEMBER new subscribers who mention it may have the Appeal to Reason and The Christian Socialist both for 50c. This is made possible by the generosity of a Comrade who presents us with 100 Appeal cards. Comrades, get up clubs of both papers at once.

So many letters come to us that, with the few hands and much work, we can not possibly answer them. Be reasonable and merciful, Comrades. If we can not answer your letter promptly, you are only one of many, and we can not do better on this line.

WHEN a person submits an article for our consideration he must not be impatient if some time elapses before attention is given it. We have much work to do, and can not always consider articles submitted as soon as we would like.

THE Marion Indiana Daily Leader prints an excellent two-column article on Socialism, by John W. Kelly the two closing paragraphs of which are particularly worthy of quotation:

"The Socialists contend that we now have two kinds of robbery, legal and illegal, and they declare that all net profit is robbery; that the profit of capital is the robbery of labor, and they therefore look upon every capitalist as a legalized robber, and they demand that the laws shall be so amended as to make all robbery illegal."

"But the Socialists are not assassinators of character; they have no unkind word or thought for Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Morgan or any other individual who has achieved what the world calls success. These individuals deserve no censure; they have simply won out at the game we are all playing as best we can. They have merely succeeded in doing what we are all under capitalism trying to do. Miss Tarbell, Mr. Steffin and Mr. Lawson and his sensationalists may assail them personally, but no Socialist writer who is clearly conscious of the mission of Socialism will do it. We are not fighting capitalists, but capitalism. We do not direct our force against the individual, but against the system."

"SOCIALISM AS A WORLD POWER"

The above expression sounds good to us, especially from the staunch Republican St. Louis Globe-Democrat. (See striking editorial quoted elsewhere in this issue.)

The false notes in the Globe's anthem of praise to Socialism are very few and all easily accounted for by the policy of a partisan paper to discourage all other parties. When, after enumerating the splendid objects of Socialism in Europe, the Globe says it is "lacking any intelligent reason for existence," in America, we only need to remember that, in view of the facts it has already stated, it must make some show of excuse for remaining a plutocratic organ. But when it says Socialism in America "has no future that can alarm sane persons," the nail is hit squarely on the head again. However, this is far from denying that Socialism will sweep triumphantly from Maine to the Philippines and from Alaska to Porto Rico.

The Socialists have cause for shouting every day. Yet there are many long, hard battles to fight. Shouting will not level the walls of Capitalism. EDUCATION IS MORE NEEDFUL THAN EVER. Let us circulate literature that will truly represent the great movement both in its economic and spiritual phases. THE TRUTH ALONE is needed to convert the nation to Socialism. When the Nation once UNDERSTANDS Socialism and WANTS IT there will be small difficulty about *method*. Circulate the Socialist papers and books. Make this your CALLING then the ELECTION will be sure. E. E. C.

THE HEART OF THE WORLD

REV. Charles M. Sheldon has written another remarkable book on "Christian Socialism" entitled "The Heart of the World," which is fully as striking and impressive as his famous volume "In His Steps," of which millions of copies were sold. Fleming H. Revell & Co., publish the new book, which, with its most interesting contents, insures an immense sale.

The story deals with the struggles of the brilliant minister of a "wealthy and fashionable church" in his effort to be true to his convictions as a servant of Jesus. Also with certain millionaire mill-owners—public robbers—and a strong, courageous, relentless union labor leader who loves mankind and despises the Church. Sensational situations and startling climaxes illustrate the chief points in Rev. Sheldon's philosophy of social salvation.

The book is timely and, in the main, true. Its warning, both to the Church and to the Socialist party, is a trumpet blast that will awaken thousands and lead them to see that while true religion is making men Socialists, true Socialism is making men religious.

No man can justly arraign the general Church more severely than does Rev. Sheldon in all his books, yet no one can reasonably doubt his deep love for the genuine Church which he sees hidden beneath the rubbish and rot of present day Churchianity. And the much exploited "miracle" of the conversion of Wrigletham, the millionaire mill-owner, and hundreds of the working men, would not be uncommon if the ministers would preach the real Gospel of Jesus to rich and poor as Dr. Stanton did. And right here lies the reason for the feeling so common among working men that the church is "a whited sepulcher," hypocritical, timeserving, cowardly, unchristian. Let the preachers proclaim the real message of Christ and the "Good News to the Poor," will win both the wealthy and the impoverished. When the ministers do this, Socialism will save the Church and the Church will save the world

There are two points at which Rev. Sheldon may be at fault. He seems to miss the fact of the deep religious *motif* and *spirit* of the Socialists. Their quarrel with the Church is not over *religion*, but over the *neglect of the Church*, through ignorance or insincerity, *to fairly represent the character, spirit and message of Christ*. Whatever the materialistic Socialists believe *about* Jesus, *they believe in him* and boldly, relentlessly challenge the Church to be true to its glorious Head. This scorn of the Church rests not so much on theological as on practical ground.

If I mistake not, Rev. Sheldon also falls into the error of teaching that political activity is useless in behalf of Socialism until the masses of men become Christlike. Failing to recognize the love-tendencies even among materialistic Socialists that work for genuine brotherhood and, it seems to me, confusing somewhat the Socialist method with that of Philosophic Anarchy, he unwisely minimizes the advantage and necessity of strong organization and persistent activity upon the political field. Whereas, as rapidly as men become heart-and-head-converts to the Socialist philosophy and spirit, whether they be called religious or not, they will naturally unite upon the political field *to create conditions more favorable to the growth of mind and soul*. Fortunately the enemies of Socialism are so strong and arrogant that they will force this political union and activity in spite of all notions to the contrary.

Perhaps I have not fully understood Rev. Sheldon at this point but too much emphasis can no more be laid upon the need of *acting right on the political field*, as well as in less important matters, than can be laid upon the need of soul awakening.

Although "The Heart of the World" may not please the doctrinaire who stickles for every jot and tittle of "Scientific" Socialism, I thank God and his servant Sheldon for the book and advise every reader of The Christian Socialist to get it and loan it to every minister and church member who will read it. E. E. C.

SALVATION FOR THE RICH

[From the London, England, Times and Echo]

There is much that is wonderful about the remarkable progress Socialism is making in the United States. Notably the fact that the capitalists themselves—scared at the squeeze by the dominant members of their own class—are turning to Socialism for the salvation they despair of at the hands of their political parties. These men are shrewd and business-like. They affect no altruistic motives. They are the testimony of the transition time to the invincible power that is changing the order of civilization. One of the most typical instances is to be found in a speech recently delivered by Mr. Rufus W. Weeks. himself several times a millionaire, and the actuary of the New York Life Insurance Company, at Newark. Mr. Weeks calls Socialism "The Phenomenon of the Twentieth Century," and the keeness with which he discriminates between the necessities of the proletariat, which have hitherto made them the converts to Socialism, and the blunders of the better classes, is very striking.

[We can furnish a neat clear type, book paper, 8-page leaflet containing Mr. Week's noted lecture on "The Most Remarkable Phonomenon of the Twentieth Century" at 70c per hundred postpaid, or bundles of ten at 10c. $5.00 per thousand by express not prepaid. There ought to be a million copies sold as it is one of the best propaganda leaflets printed.—E. E. C.

THE SOCIALISM OF JESUS

BY DISCIPULUS

I. Personal Experience

FOR many years two enthusiasms have possessed me—two distinct enthusiasms, not merging into each other—the one religious and the other political. The former is the devotion to that being whom Christianity deems the Saviour of the world, and it dates from the time when I learned to identify the ever-living Christ with that Infinite Love which has been present in the universe from the beginning, which is working more and more prevailingly against the cruel element in the cosmic process, and which has its last best home in the hearts of men. Since that time Christ has been for me the Way, the Truth, the Life—my Lord and my God—and I have believed that every man who will so accept Him will find therein his salvation.

The other, the political, enthusiasm has been life-long, and is the devotion of the world-wide democratic movement of the last two centuries. The watchword of this vast movement is "Freedom, universal freedom"; its fighting ground was at first purely political, but has now become economic as well as political. Its aim now is to free mankind from the oppressive power of capitalism, to bring in the day of universal co-operative industry; in one word, *this* devotion is Socialism.

The two devotions I have always felt were, in a way, bound together; inasmuch as the love of man, into which Jesus wished to transmute the affection for himself, could in the present age find no other effective outlet than through Socialism; but, until very lately, it never occurred to me to inquire what, precisely, Jesus would have thought of Socialism—what, as a matter of fact, he did think of the rights and wrongs of labor.

II. The Inquiry

For knowledge of the mind of Jesus we have nowhere to go but to the gospels, and in going to them with this new question I felt they must be appealed to in a new way, so as to set aside the established preconceptions and to get the real perspective of the narrative, if possible. For this, a bird's-eye view must, I thought, first be taken of the gospels as a whole in their bearing on the economic relations of men, on the everlasting question between the Haves and the Have Nots, and I therefore read the gospels through at one sitting, and occupied with this single question: "How would these words sound to me, if I, a mechanic (and such I have been), were listening for the first time to these words of a mechanic, receiving them into a mind charged with that most fundamental aspect of human life, the bread-and-butter pre-occupation?"

This bird's-eye view gave me certain broad impressions as to the mind of Jesus, and I then proceeded to a minute examination and grouping of the sayings and doings which had led to these general impressions. In all this I ignored the glosses which churchmen seem to have adopted in order to pare down Jesus' extreme sayings to what they thought he ought to have meant; I took every word and act of his at its face value.

III. Rich and Poor

The first of the general impressions I received was the contrast of his estimates of the rich and of the poor. This is the way in which he speaks of the two classes:

"Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven."
"Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled."
"Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh."
"Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation."
"Woe unto you that are full, for ye shall hunger."
"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden."
"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor."
"Ye are the salt of the earth; ye are the light of the world."

When he spoke to the poor in these appreciative words, no wonder that, as we are told, "the common people heard him gladly." Or when he expressed his delight in that poor widow who threw the two coins, all that she had in the world, into the offertory box of the temple, contrasting her uncalculating devotion with the measured contributions of the rich. Or when he drew a picture of the rich man's discomfort in the next life, contrasting it with the comfort and honor bestowed on the beggar.

IV. What is Goodness?

The second general impression which I received was the contrast between Jesus' estimate of those qualities which are especially prized by the trading class—such as thrift, prudence, foresight for self—and his estimate of the quality especially prized by the working class—prompt and unsparing generosity manifesting itself in the freest giving and taking, borrowing and lending. His choice between these two kinds of ethics is unmistakably expressed in such sayings as these:

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth."
"Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on."
"Take no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."
"Give us this day our daily bread."
"Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."
"And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them likewise."
"Sell that ye have and give alms."
"Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness."
"Lend, hoping for nothing again."
"If ye lend to those of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again."
"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors."
"Her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much."

And many other sayings in the same strain, including that parable in which the thrifty servant who tries to collect the debt due him by a fellow servant meets such a sad fate.

V. Class Ethics

From such sayings, thus grouped and taken in their natural meaning, I learned that Jesus had given his judgment in approval of the trait of unlimited generosity, and against that of a calculating prudence. My former feeling, that the ethics natural to the working class are intrinsically higher than the ethics natural to the trading class, was thus strengthened and deepened into an intense conviction, and I saw that it is a kind of treason for us Christians to accommodate our standards to the system we happen to be living in, and that it is our duty as Christians to labor in season and out of season to bring about a recasting of the system—a revolution, if you will—which will make the system fit the higher ethics.

These sayings further showed me Jesus, as not only a workingman, but a *working class* man, animated by the same feelings and judging from the same point of view as the free-minded man of the working-class of all ages, including our own.

(To be continued next issue)

HERE AND NOW!

"Socialism is not a religion, but has to do with things here and now," says T. N. Richardson in the Appeal to Reason. Is it possible that the churches have been so neglectful of the "here and now" that any one is justified in thinking that religion has only to do with another world? The religion that does not manifest itself HERE AND NOW is a rank hypocrisy or a silly superstition, and the churches must awake to the realization of this fact or perish.

—E. E. C.

MISS WILLARD'S WORDS

Rev. J. H. Hollingsworth has compiled an attractive and striking booklet containing the words of Francis E. Willard on Socialism. It is a remarkable little book and will be a revelation to any temperance man or prohibitionist. Get a few to sell or loan. Two for 10c, postpaid. Ten for 50c, postpaid. There is no margin of profit for discount at this low price. Order of the Christian Socialist.

THE BERGER CASE

THE Crestine resolutions against Victor L. Berger and the Wisconsin movement should be voted down. The Wisconsin movement is second to none in character and ahead of all in achievement, having THIRTY-TWO officials elected including FIVE members of the legislature and many aldermen; and Berger is one of the ablest and best Socialists in America. It would be criminal insanity to disown the Wisconsin movement and punish Berger further. Vote the Crestine resolutions down.

ELECTED MEMBER OF SCHOOL BOARD

Mr. Editor:—The Socialists elected a member of the City Public School Board last evening at the largest annual school meeting ever held in this city, defeating his republican opponent by a vote of just two to one.

This is the first break in a solid machine republican school board in twenty years.

In 1900 the vote here for Debs was 2. Last fall it was 99. Now we have elected Comrade J. Eugene Andreas, an active official member of Local Dowagiac, a member of the school board for three years. We are growing some and then some more.

Dowagiac, Mich., July 11, 1905. A Comrade.

ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE FOR SOCIALISM

Alfred Russell Wallace said: "The crowning disgrace is that with a hundred fold increase in our powers of wealth, production adequate to supply every rational want of our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to individual wealth and luxury, while the workers are on an average as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before. I am convinced that the society of the future will be some form of Socialism, which is organization of labor for the good of all. Just as the post-office organized labor for the benefit of all."

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

The Cleveland Citizen has a batch of labor items that are interesting reading. The Socialist student will see that every line of effectual work by labor unions is being cut away by the development of capitalistic control of power. They must of necessity turn to political action on a working class basis.

The city council of Worcester, Mass., passed a resolution granting the laborers of street, sewer and water departments the Saturday half-holiday during June, July and August. Mayor Blodget, elected by labor votes, promptly vetoed the order, saying that the workers were already well provided for.

The suit of the coal operators of Denaby, England, against the Yorkshire miners for $750,000 damages, alleged losses sustained in a strike, has gone against the bosses in the appeal taken by the miners to a higher court. The case now goes into the House of Lords, where the unions have heretofore lost such suits.

The damage suit industry of England and America has now struck root in France. A court at Chaux-de-Fonds has decided in favor of an employer who sued his men for damages for going on a strike. The tribunal condemned nine of the ringleaders of the strike to pay their employer twelve days' pay each.

Because the legislature of British Columbia passed a bill to establish the eight-hour day in the mines some of the operators closed their mines and many men have been thrown out of work.

In New York City after five years of effort, the unions secured the enactment of a law providing for the eight-hour day and a slight increase of wages for street-sweepers, drivers and other laborers, who now work ten hours a day and seven days a week for $60 per month. Although $500,000 had been appropriated previously by the administration for more pay and new jobs for the higher salaried employes, Mayor McClelland, who was elected by the votes of the men affected, vetoed the bill to reduce the hours and raise the wages of the poor laborers, and went out of his way to make a bitter attack upon those responsible for the passage of the bill. The increased pay provided for the laborers, 5,000 in number, would have amounted to a total of but $300,000 a year.

John Burns, Labor member of the British Parliament, is quoted as saying: "'Freedom of contract' is totally opposed to all modern ideas of government. Why, if that principle were strictly upheld, a man could sell himself into slavery. Indentured labor, which we here in England are fighting against, is dependent upon the alleged right of every man to sell his labor as cheaply as he likes. 'Freedom of contract' strikes at the root of every factory act and every piece of remedial industrial legislation the world has seen."

Many of the leading students of social questions in Great Britian view the political activity of labor in that country with extraordinary interest. Some go so far as to predict that out of the present movement will grow the dominating political power in the near future, and that this opinion is largely shared by professional politicians.

What do you think of this? Avowedly Christian men belonging to a Christian political party working hard against a bill to keep free from work the holy Sabbath day. We'll have to change the adage and say, Capitalism makes strange bed-fellows. We quote from the Social Democratic Herald: "After great struggles the Belgian Chamber has passed the chief clauses of the Government Bill forbidding Sunday labor in industrial and commercial establishments. Exceptions are made in favor of companies engaged in transport by road, rail, or water, persons occupied in agricultural pursuits, and some minor industries. From the first, says the "Labor Leader," the Socialists fought their very hardest to make this bill as complete as possible. Vandervelde moved an amendment to assure a holiday to the exempted classes by providing that the day of rest need not necessarily be Sunday; it might be two half days snatched from the rest of the week. But the enraged Clericals would have none of it, and while they were forging the chains for the overwrought workmen the Pope was condemning the Abbe Daens, the leader of the Christian Socialists in Belgium."

The labor unions of Sweden are resolved that no armed constraint shall be put upon Norway to hold her to the Scandinavian union. They are telegraping to the Norwegian unions that they will refuse to respond to a call to arms if an attempt is made to coerce Norway, and the Social Democrats have issued proclamations declaring that the workingmen will go on a strike throughout Sweden if the Riksdag [the Swedish parliament] authorizes armed coercion.

Comrade Debs has been holding some big meetings in Ohio. Packed houses everywhere and great enthusiam. The newspaper comments are interesting. One paper says he told his hearers some "fearful truths," another "that he still retains many admirers here was shown by the ovation tendered him." The "Vindicator" of Youngstown said: "There is truth in much that Mr. Debs says and he leaves a lasting impression with his hearers." At Youngstown he was introduced by Comrade John Slayton, of Newcastle, Pa. The "Gleaner" of Massillon said: "An audience of large size assembled last night to hear the gospel preached by one of the greatest preachers of the day * * * The preacher was Eugene V. Debs, and without any perfunctory palaver whatever he went at the business of telling the truth as he understands it—proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ the Saviour who died for other men, as it is revealed to Debs."

Comrades of Dexter, Mo., have persuaded the managers of the Chautauqua meeting to be held there to arrange one date for Eugene V. Debs.

The readers of the Christian Socialist might assist greatly by quietly using their influence that Socialist speakers like Comrades Debs, Wentworth, Mills and Hanford be secured for lecture courses in their vicinity.

The Socialist of Toledo, Ohio, wants to know if you have noticed:

That if you dig down deep enough into all the graft charges against labor leaders, the "best citizen" can be found lurking at the bottom of them?

That the Socialist Party polled 409,230 votes in the national election last November.

That the people who oppose free text books for school children can afford to send their own children to college.

That the vote of the Socialist Party grows in proportion to the growth of the dues-paying party membership.

That the whole banking system is not denounced by the capitalist press when a banker scoops in a lot of graft?

That the whole labor movement is condemned when a labor official yields to bribery by a capitalist?

The appeal to Reason is getting up a fund to send an edition filled with special matter to one million business men of the country. It is the time for big things.

Miss Mary E. McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement tells the story of one girl in the stock yards, whom she called the idealist of the labeling room—a girl whose great longing it was to earn more wages, not that she could have more money, but that the family need not sleep all in the same room—could have something more like a home and privacy. So expert was she, so eager, that unconsciously she became the pacemaker of the labeling room, but when she kept on until she got what she wanted there came a cut in the wages. Again she kept on, redoubled her efforts until at the new rate she could make the wages that she wanted. The others followed, and again a cut. In the end she overworked, and the strain killed her.—Labor Clarion.

A few specimen "Hot Cinders" from the Appeal to Reason:

All men are Socialists but only a few have found it out yet.

Socialists stand for peace, even though they have to fight to get it.

Capitalism is its own grave digger but Socialism will bury the corpse.

The railroads never object to railroad legislation when it comes in the shape of a nice, fat subsidy.

We hear a good deal about the dignity of labor—it's the one kind of dignity that the rich are willing the poor shall monopolize.

Capitalism operates under the law of the survival of the fittest; Socialism will operate under the law of fitting as many as possible to survive.

The recent political and economic movements in Zurich point to a decided accentuation of the class war, the theory that democracy modifies the latter being singularly belied in the land where democracy is carried quite as far, if not further, than anywhere in the world. Practically all the political demands on our programs are realized here, and yet now we have the employers organizing themselves for a sharp battle with the men—blacklisting, organization of blackleg (scab) labor, etc. The fact is that democracy brings class rule to the most clear expression.—London Justice.

Switzerland is the most democratic of countries because the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate are so thoroughly applied in its government. But no advocate of direct legislation has ever held that it would bring industrial peace while the economic conditions were on a false and unjust basis. Its greatest use is to inform men, by direct participation in law-making how laws are made in the interest of the ruling class, as most of the laws are at present, deals unjustly with the masses. The knowledge of this is bound to lead to class antagonisms. No other result could be looked for. But until the knowledge of Socialism directs the action at the ballot box, we are apt to become extremely dissatisfied with the results of direct legislation.

We are are very glad to give space to the following letter on a subject which has already been touched upon in our columns:

To the Editor of The Worker:—I beg to say a few words to the comrades concerning the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, a call to which was sent out recently. The work of this society will be the organizing of those college men and women who believe in Socialism, to aid in forming propaganda clubs at our colleges, to select and distribute literature, to furnish speakers, and to aid in every way in the work of inducing college students to take an interest in Socialism. That this is a most important movement, capable of wide growth and usefulness, all comrades must admit. Let me urge that all party men who are or ever have been students at any American college should send their names at once to Miss M. R. Holbrook, box 1663, New York City. As the society will necessarily be democratically run, if the right officers are not chosen at the outset and the right kind of Socialism dealt in, the party members who are college men will have their own tardiness to blame.

I send this letter to The Worker because it is my local paper. It is intended for the rest of the party press as well, and I ask that it be reprinted promptly.

Yours for the cause,

Princeton, N. J. UPTON SINCLAR.

In this connection it should be stated that the regular call has not gone out yet to the colleges because of the lateness of the college season. They will be sent to the secretary of every college and high school when the fall season opens. There have been, however about 85 replies received from persons desiring more information or expressing a wish to become members. To such a further note is being sent.

TO THE CO-OPERATIVE FELLOWSHIP

Dear Comrades:

It has pleased me that so many of the Fellowshippers have responded to my suggestion and subscribed for the Christian Socialist. This paper fills a distinct field of its own for the Cause, and your encouragement and aid are very much appreciated by the editors and publishers, as well as by me.

My term of residence and personal management of the mechanical department here in Danville expires the last of August and I shall return home to Westwood, Mass. (after lecturing a week in N. Y. state), Sept. 1st, when I shall resume my regular work as minister-at-large of the Co-operative Fellowship and of publishing its literature. On Oct. 1st I shall start "The Ariel," a beautiful magazine, monthly, with a comradely group of associate editors such a J. Wm. Lloyd, John Eills, Edwin Arnold Brenholtz, Ralph Albertson and others to be welcomed including some comrades from abroad. Its motto will be, "He serves all who dares be true," and will cost 50c a year. All subscribers for Flashlights will be placed upon its regular list for the remainder of their subscriptions.

Thanking so many of you for past help and inspiring letters, I am yours for the joyous life and fellowship of all comrades, sincerely,

GEORGE ELMER LITTLEFIELD.

JUST AMONG OURSELVES

Rev. Edward Ellis Carr: Dear Comrade and Brother—

The published letters and articles referring to the proposed Christian Socialist Fellowship and its purpose have deeply interested me. I hope there will yet be expressions from Comrades Stitt Wilson, Carl D. Thompson, and others who took part in the Social Crusade Movement a few years ago. I have feared that the unkind criticism and misunderstanding their noble work met with in some quarters at that time might now deter them from saying anything about the proposed Fellowship. If so, let them remember that this new movement is but a continuation of their pioneer work, profiting by their experience, painful or otherwise, and endeavoring to meet a great moral and spiritual emergency with both common-sense and consecration. The idea of this new movement is in the minds of all comrades, old and young, and we want the benefit of the experienced.

I was much gratified at the pratical suggestions of Comrade Weeks in your last issue. He is right as to the name "Christian Socialist Fellowship", for the reasons given. And I like equally well his use of the term "Socialist Christians" applied to us. It seems to me the active membership should consist primarily of "actually militant Socialists, holding to economic determinism and the class-interest and class-conscious appeal to the working-class", as he says. This is wise, for, if we accept the Socialist Philosophy, we are bound to admit that even spiritual emancipation can only follow material freedom. Moreover, we thereby put ourselves on a frank and equal footing with our free-thought comrades, and show them we do not minimise the economic and tactical program of the party. I have been deeply pained of late by certain cruelly atheistic utterances in the party press; but I believe with Ernest Untermann, who characterizes all such opinions "products of undeveloped thought", coming from a capitalist environment. Let us be very tolerant, and even silent, along this line except where we can clearly accomplish good by speaking; for our duty toward the extreme materialists within the party is quite as arduous and important as our duty toward the extreme moralists within the churches. I have talked to men like Comrades Stitt Wilson and Fred Strickland upon this point, and I know their counsel of loving toleration is both Christian and Socialistic. To use a fine expression from Comrade Untermann, we bring "a word of cheer to the struggling soul which refuses to give up its right to perpetual existence"; and we must occupy that high ground where the religious and the anti-religious may meet and intermingle.

The letters and articles heretofore published counselling fraternal feeling toward church people open to conviction, meet my hearty approval. Comrade Strickland wisely warns against mixing the political and spiritual appeal; and he also advises a sympathetic and tactful interpretation of our philosophy to church people, rather than a blunt and belligerent attitude toward them. He says our movement has not yet reached its poetic and passionate fulness in the social consciousness, and we should let it lead us rather than try to lead it. No new machinery is needed now. Let the organisation be spiritual, even informal for the present. And let every comrade do his duty to the party quite as religiously as to the Fellowship. Comrade Wattles of Indiana, one of the largest souls I have ever met, advises a circuit within one's own locality, extending and touching the circuit of a fellow worker where possible. He also emphasizes a correct understanding of the large, loving significance of Socialism, which only the spiritually-minded comprehend. He and his son are touring Indiana with great success.

I still hold to the idea of centering all our funds in an organ like the Christian Socialist, which will continue to express the Fellowship Movement as it takes form. Give it time to grow. It will prove the most potent since Pentecost.

Cordially Yours,

GOSHEN, KY., JULY 18, 1905. LUCIEN V. RULE.

THE CRESTLINE REFERENDUM

Milwaukee, Wis., July 20, 1905.

Comrade Editor:—

On behalf of the Wisconsin members of the Socialist Party, I wish to submit a few words upon the referendum which is about to be submitted to a vote of the party. This referendum calls for the removal of Comrade Victor L. Berger from the National Executive Committee, and the expulsion of the Wisconsin organization, unless we apply for and accept a charter.

We hope that the members of the Socialist Party will vote "no" upon this referendum. Wisconsin comrades have spent many years of hard work and many thousands of dollars and have distributed tons of literature to build up their movement. We do not believe that the Socialists of America will wantonly destroy the results of so much labor and sacrifices.

We have a splendid proletarian organization in Wisconsin. The firm foundation of this movement is shown by the fact that our vote has steadily grown without any sudden gain and without any setback at all. In our last general election we had 28,000 Social-Democratic votes in this state.

We now have 32 elected Social-Democratic officials in Wisconsin including five members of the legislature, and almost every one of the thirty-two is a wage-worker and a member of a labor union. All these men are doing work which is a credit to the party, and which shows how well fitted are intelligent workingmen for public office.

We say this in no boastful spirit. We know that all true Socialists will feel that this success of ours is their success, and that in just such proportion as the party triumphs in one state, just so much is it to the advantage of the party in every other state.

Therefore the Wisconsin members call upon their comrades all over the country not to deal a blow at our splendid movement just for the sake of a little piece of paper.

We pay dues to the national headquarters and comply with all the provisions of the national constitution.

True, we have no charter, but the constitution does not require us to have one.

The Wisconsin Party had long been organized when it became one of the contracting parties which formed the Socialist Party at the "Unity Convention" at Indianapolis in 1901. It was understood at that time that the states already organized needed no new charters, and that their vote to form a union of the various organizations admitted them to the new Socialist Party. We possess all kinds of charters from previous Socialist parties. And since we were already the official party in Wisconsin in 1901 and had been one of the contracting organizations in the Unity Convention we thought we should invalidate the agreement there entered into, if we asked for an extra charter.

By the fact that national headquarters always accepted our dues, although we have no charter, they have acknowledged our affiliation with the party.

The fact that we have no paper document is not a sufficient cause for expelling an organization that has proved it can do good work for Socialism without a charter. It surely cannot be a good reason for excommunicating members who have labored so faithfully, so long and so successfully.

We do not believe that the Socialists of America will stand for any such proceeding.

The question in regard to the removal of Comrade Berger has already been pretty fully discussed. It has been pointed out that Comrade Berger did not violate any clause of the national constitution when in our last judicial election in Milwaukee, where we had no ticket in the field, he worked against the election of a candidate who represented the bitter opposition to Socialism of a certain narrow-minded section of the Roman Catholic clergy.

That the National Committee themselves admitted this to be the case, is proved by the fact that they have since passed a rule that no member can vote at all when there is no Socialist ticket in the field. This rule was not passed nor even thought of when Comrade Berger advised his readers to vote against Judge Carpenter, one of nine individual candidates, and therefore Comrade Berger could not at that time have disobeyed it.

It has also been shown that Comrade Berger acted in accordance with the tactics of International Socialism. The great leader of the German Socialists, August Bebel, himself said that the Bavarian comrades had "violated no principle, and not even the tactics of the party" when they had even entered into an open alliance with a reactionary party—something we have never thought of in Wisconsin.

And the Hanover Convention in 1899 by a vote of 205 to 34 even decided that the party should not "refuse to combine with capitalist parties whenever the case may require it." This rule is in force in Germany to this day. It is a fact well known to those who are acquainted with the international movement, that the Socialist Party in France, Italy, Belgium and Denmark has on very numerous occasions entered into OPEN ALLIANCES with bourgeois parties.

Comrade Berger and the Milwaukee comrades are earnestly opposed to all fusion. We merely cite these cases to show that our comrades abroad go infinitely farther than we, and the soundness of their Socialism has never been called in question.

It has been objected that the conditions in Europe are entirely different from those in America, because in European countries there still remain many relics of feudalism.

But in point of fact, even in America we have one of the best preserved relics of the feudal age and one which has given most trouble to our comrades abroad. I refer to the power of the Roman Catholic clergy, which in most European countries has been used to fight Socialism.

What has been the motive for the alliance of Herman and other European Socialists with the "liberal" capitalistic parties? The motive has usually been that they could unite against the clerical party which so bitterly opposes Socialism in most countries of Europe.

With such an opposition we are confronted in Milwaukee. And that is the reason that our tactics had to conform somewhat to European Socialist tactics, although we did not go one thousandth part as far.

The Socialists of Europe could not conceive of such a thing as the removal of an old and tried comrade from the national councils on such a charge as that brought against Comrade Berger. In fact, we can ill afford to spare self-sacrificing and experienced members as Comrade Berger from our National Executive Committee.

Such measures as the removal of Comrade Berger from the National Executive Committee and the expulsion of the Wisconsin members from the Socialist party will seriously injure the Socialist movement in Milwaukee and throughout the country. The capitalist press in Milwaukee has devoted a great deal of space to this matter and sneers at the "unjust, cold-blooded, and tyrannical methods" employed by the Socialists. Such measures the Anti-Socialists declare are a sample of what would be done under the Co-operative Commonwealth. Our Anti-Socialist enemies have made a great deal of this whole affair and if this referendum passes, will use it still more to our disadvantage.

Let the members of the Socialist Party thoughtfully consider and carefully weigh this matter, and examine all sides before they vote on this most serious question. This is not a trifling affair. The interests of the Socialist movement of America are deeply concerned.

E. H. THOMAS, State Secretary.

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